1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

There were only a few such singers in the country, and the challenging village might have to send for one from some distance. He worked without pay, other than his food and the fame he received. He selected a number of boys and girls who had agile bodies and the great desideratum, long glossy hair. These he trained in the dance maneuvers, and meantime, the older men learned his songs and made the effigies under his direction. Often he required elaborate representations, which might take months to produce. Reports mention cranes made of raw cotton or smaller birds of painted wood mounted on sticks which could be waved as though the birds were flying. Sometimes there were rainbows of painted buckskin, cloud symbols of cotton, and flowers of wood or vegetable matter.

The men of the village met frequently to sing songs which would give their side good luck in running. Toward the end of the practice time they sang every night. One or more shamans sat with them to "see" whether their opponents were working any evil spells and also to work spells on their own behalf.

Ten days before the final event a bundle of sticks was sent by messenger to the opponents. On the tenth day the challengers started, men, women, and children, taking their effigies, dance costumes, and all the property they could afford to bet on the game. They planned to arrive at their opponent's village on the day before the games and to camp outside it. From this final camping place they sent into the village two messengers in war array. All accounts heard assumed the use of the horse and of the lance, and even called this formal challenge by a Hispanicized term which sounds like "harlequinade." [1]

The messengers had their faces painted black, as did warriors and the announcers for the drinking ceremony. "Black means madness or dizziness."(9) One was on horseback, carrying a lance, his other clothing being the most elaborate he had. The other, also with black face, was on foot. They presented themselves at the race track, where the man on horseback stood up in his stirrups and delivered his message. The villagers, who had gathered to receive

[1] Although the challenge was in the form of play, it seems probable that it symbolized the real hostility and fear once felt by the contesting groups. If they belonged to different dialect divisions, this might be the only occasion when they met, and they surrounded it with formalities.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

535 San Xavier, "the Hollow Place." The composer's dream had concerned the morning star who visited him in the form of a woman. The dancers carried effigies of the things she had shown him: white cranes, flying over from the Pacific coast, and rainbows. The cranes [539] were life size, made of raw cotton on a framework of twigs, with bills and feet painted yellow. The rainbows were made of arches of ocotillo withes, three feet wide at the base. Over the arch was stretched a half disk of muslin on which was painted the rainbow. Black streaks across the base of the arch represented rain.

The girl dancers wore white, the color of the cranes, but a cotton dress substituted for the single wrapped skirt of older days. The boys wore women's skirts, substituted for the old short kilt. All had headdresses representing clouds. These were made of a helmet-shaped framework of bent sticks covered with raw cotton. One girl, who represented the morning star, had a small circular mirror attached to the front of her headdress. This, in former times, would have been abalone shell.

SONGS FOR THE SKIPPING DANCE, 1927(2)

539 535 *The file of couples proceeds in a circle, first walking, then skipping.*

4. From the west they run
To sing for us.
There I stand and see
That it is good.
Yonder I see them run,
Holding the rainbows high.

5. Crane birds!
Side by side, in a row!
Under you I stand, and look.
You go a little way and spread out.
Behind you it is raining.

At the third line, the couples spread out in a row and skip forward, then running back to the starting point, where they repeat the maneuver.

6. There, indeed, I stand
And toward the west stretch out my hands.
The mist I summon.
It comes. The earth dissolves.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

in the middle (wahpolihita), which were collected by the Navico and given to persons who remained all day in the ceremonial inclosure. More important than this was the making of representations of everything that was desired in abundance and depended on water for its existence, such as cattle, horses, birds, corn, pumpkins, beans, cane, and wheat, also representations of the cactus and of clouds. Some of these were large, the image of a cactus being 4 feet high but made of material so light that it could be carried by two men. A large representation of the sun was made of "something shiny." A certain man, expert in the making of the images, went from one village to another inspecting the work. He was the last man who knew the formal speeches that should precede the songs in the ceremony but he died in 1919 leaving no son, therefore his knowledge of the origin and traditions of this remarkable ceremony has perished.

It appears that not every person could carry one of these representations, for Mattias Encinas related a dream which, he said, entitled him to this privilege. He said that he could have made a representation of a cloud and carried it in the ceremony but so many others carried clouds that he never availed himself of this privilege. Encinas' son was the writer's interpreter and did not know of his father's dream until it was related and the song recorded for this work. It is a peculiarity of Papago music that the songs received in dreams are in groups of four. If more than four songs are received by one man he receives another entire group of four. The melody is often alike in the songs of the group but the words are different, constituting them "different songs" in the mind of the Indian.

Mattias Encinas said that when he was a child he attended a Viikita ceremony and wondered why the ceremony was held and why some of the men were dressed as clowns. As he grew older he sang the songs which he heard, being careful to observe the rule that these songs must never be whistled. By the time he was about 16 years old he had attended two or three of these ceremonies, and it was at this time that he had a series of dreams, one occurring every night for a period of four nights. In these dreams he saw spirits, heard them sing, and learned their songs. The first night they were close to him, they sang and walked backward until they disappeared. The next night they came again, singing, but farther away; the third night they were still farther away, and the fourth night they were so far away that he could scarcely hear them, but by that time he had learned the songs.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

on a former expedition danced around the fire carrying a club and followed by four or five women. This action of the man was a severe test of his strength as he was required to keep it up until daybreak, jumping sidewise, up and down, trotting, dodging forward, falling down, and acting in every way as he had acted on the warpath. He carried whatever he had carried when on the warpath. Hugh Norris said he had seen such a man fall as though shot, then jump up and go on. The only time he stopped and walked was when he went over and put his hand on the heads of the men who had killed Apache, one after another. The singers were silent when he did this, and when it was completed he waved his hand as a signal for the singing to be resumed. When the singers were silent at other times he stood erect and danced on one foot. The women imitated his action, even trying to "jump in his tracks." They were not required to continue all night but could "change off" when they were tired.

In the early morning of the next day an Apache scalp and an effigy of an Apache was placed in a "spirit basket," to be kept and respected by each warrior who had killed an Apache. He assumed the care of this scalp as a serious responsibility, believing that sickness and evil would follow any neglect of his obligation to it. A "medicine basket" is described and illustrated by Frank Russell [29] and the writer's informant identified this as the type of basket used for containing an Apache scalp. Russell states, "Medicine baskets are the same material and style of weaving as the trinket basket." They are long, square cornered, with rounded margin, and are made in two nearly equal parts, one of which slips over the other as a lid. The effigy of the Apache was about 2 inches long, the dimensions of the basket allowing for a wrapping of cloth. It was made of a kind of mud that will not crack and the head was made of the sap that dries on greasewood. When this is soaked it becomes like glue and a face can be modeled in it. A tuft of white eagle down was put on the head. It sometimes took several men to kill an Apache and they all shared the honor, the scalp being cut into the proper number of pieces, a few hairs being sufficient to be put with the effigy. Thus the preparation for the Lámo included the providing of the spirit baskets, the making of the effigies, and the count of the scalps (or portions of scalps), so there was one for each warrior who had shared in the killing of an Apache. The dividing of the scalps made it possible to provide for the spirit baskets and also have scalps for carrying in the victory dances.

An old medicine man had charge of the ceremony of placing the Apache effigies and scalps in the baskets. At the time of the ceremony he sat facing the warriors, holding the effigies and a corresponding number of Apache scalps or pieces of scalp. The warriors

[29] Op. cit., p. 161.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

good condition; the young men were not particularly accommodating, as their interest seemed to be centred in the corral, where they were breaking in horses, separating cattle, etc. These natives had little to sell me beyond a fine basket used for harvesting sahuaro fruit. This kind of basket, which now is becoming rare, is of large size, water-tight, and is carried on the head. Its decorative designs sometimes represent the sahuaro cactus.

I visited Santiago, an old hunter, who, according to reports, used to be able to overtake deer, on the run, in half a day, and then shoot them with bow and arrow. In the hot weather these animals are not inclined to run long, as their feet become sore. Santiago is still very agile and quick in his movements and every day he goes out shooting quail, cotton-tails, jack-rabbits, and pigeons. His bow, which I secured, is made from that beautiful greenish blue bush of the desert called *condalia*. It is strengthened by an ox-tail hide pulled over it. The bow string is made from the ligaments of the back of the neck of the same animal. Arrows are made from the *amole* (yucca) flower stalk, the point being of cat-claw, tied by deer sinew.

He was also willing to be photographed. He had been to Tucson and there had gone through the experience of the camera, so he had no objection but would expect some gratuity. I took three or four snapshots with my kodak, and he asked fifty cents, which I gave him, but he demanded fifty cents for each exposure, in which I could hardly humor him. The Papagoes all have a great disinclination to being photographed, and

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

to speak, only three-quarters complete in the other life. Usually the people ran away from my kodak, and it was extremely difficult to photograph them unawares, as they are very keen and in a way scent the impending danger. A young, good-looking man, of whom I asked permission to take a quick photograph, surprised me by answering in the affirmative. He entered his house to get ready for the fray, saying to his wife, "I am going to have my picture taken. I am a man and I am not afraid of seeing myself after death."

I kept the honest chief till late in the afternoon, when he was obliged to go to his sahuaro camp, near the south end of the Quijotoa Range. He offered to return the following day, but I thought it better to look him up later on. There was present at the interview a man who had acted as a singing shaman at the feast, Juanito by name. He owned a few head of cattle and some horses, and had been much with whites, hauling wood or doing similar work, but in spite of this he spoke no English and only a few Spanish words. It was he who in the excitement of the feast had waked me up in the middle of the night. Some twelve years ago Juanito had seen a Mexican make a drawing, and last year it had occurred to him to try his hand at this accomplishment, which had made a strong impression on him. Considering that this was his first and only effort with the pencil, the product was by no means discreditable. His brother posed for him on horseback for half an hour, in order that Juanito might get a clear conception of the subject he was going to draw. Strange to say, he did not draw

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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PICTURE DRAWN BY AN UNTUTORED PAPAGO

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UNDER THE ANCIENT BOB

MOTHER WITH CHILD IN CRADLE. ARIZONA

[Facing p. 62]

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

him then, but during the following three days he worked at the drawing from memory in his spare time, being mostly occupied in his field and with his cattle. After long deliberation, he finally consented to part with the picture which is shown on plate. The horse is painted with red ochre and the necktie is blue, the color having been bought in an American store. The artist was about fifty years old.

Following a fairly good wagon road eastward through the Comobabi Mountains, I first halted at a rancheria called "Badger's Well," where I found all the old people absent in the sahuaro fields. The younger generation, inclined toward the white man's ways, offered little of interest. They spent much of their time in laughter and animated talk at the well, where they watered their cattle and horses. I noticed a quail creeping stealthily to drink from the overflow of the water, a few yards from the well. Its thirst was quickly satisfied, when it retired to safety among the bushes.

A man sold me a spur made from the cleft of a mezquite bush. It has a very sharp point, which is most efficient, though cruel. Only one foot is thus provided. A negro came along, a rather strange appearance in this part of the country; he told of a silver mine four miles east of there that he and half a dozen of his race owned. It had been found by one of them who had been a prospector for eight years.

There were many ants in my camp, so I was glad to pack up in the morning. A visit was first made to the burial place, which was of the usual unattractive de-

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

sahuaro wine is not used during or after this great festival. At Quitovac, in Sonora, an annual harvest feast, called by the same name, is given in August; this is accompanied by the drinking of sahuaro wine.

As the name indicates, the clowns are the funny men of the occasion, and their apparel and weapons are in accordance with their functions. Their bows are crooked mezquite roots with strings attached. Their ridiculous-looking arrows, four for each, are made from sahuaro ribs, with turkey feathers as the plumed part; like the hunter, the clown has two kinds, but his are out of proportion, three being thin and one very stout. His bracelet may be a piece of unborn deerskin wrapped around the wrist. The most striking part of the costume is the mask, which is made of canvas, like a hood that is drawn over the head; formerly perhaps basket work took the place, at least in parts, of the canvas. Small holes for the eyes have been pierced in it and the top is adorned with a large bunch of plumes from the turkey, hawk, and a black sea-bird. "Horns" made of turkey plumes are attached to the sides, soft down from a hawk being tied to the top. The decorations on the facial part of the mask symbolize clouds. Under the clown's belt is tucked a wooden machete, and large strings of sea-shells run over the shoulders across the chest and back. He wears a huge tobacco-pouch and carries a sahuaro pole on which small greasewood sticks, tied at right angles, do duty as hooks.

His bare arms, as well as his arrows, are decorated each with a spiral line made with chalk and encircling

[i.e., the clown's —Analyst]

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

796 lengthwise, while his legs are daubed in spots, the color
301 being afterward allowed to wear off. At the feast, the
536 numerous clowns perform pranks everywhere; they visit
796 the houses, offer food, and shoot at men disguised as
536 deer. During the dancing they keep in the middle of the dancing place. They neither sing nor talk, though they may do so if requested. If a clown breathes on a [755] sick man, the latter gets well. The mask when not used is kept in the house of the owner, usually in a covered earthen-ware jar. The dignity of the office, which does not imply the necessity of being a medicine-man, is confined to certain families, the father deciding which of his sons is to be the next clown.

796 On the wall in my lodging-room there was hanging a different kind of mask, neatly made from a gourd, and
● 532 painted. It is worn by a singer at the same great feast. I also secured this, and during the time spent at Santa Rosa valley I was fortunate enough to make quite a collection of such interesting objects. There are three sections of colors on the singers' masks symbolizing clouds of similar hues. The upper part is painted with red [386] ochre; then comes a black band which is produced by a mixture of sap from the mezquite and oxide of iron; the white band is made with chalk. The zigzags of the red section symbolize clouds, the dots are grains of corn. The designs on the white section denote clouds and light-
796 ning. The singers (*viinim*) have the same kind of rat-
534 tles as the clowns, consisting of a number of the small bags spun by an insect (*attacus orizaba*), with a pebble inside of each, and attached to a band around the ankle.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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[Facing p. 96]

PAPAGO ETHNOLOGY

a (Santa Rosa, height, 10 cm.); b (Kwivo); c (Ásuksam); d (Áitchi); fingers' marks. On the red (upper) section the zigzags mean clouds, on the white (lower) section, the zigzags mean clouds and lightning; dots symbolize grains of corn. e, length, 77 cm.; f, length, 76 cm.; g, length, 41 cm.; Ancient wooden bats from Ásekaru, used by women. h, twig of greasewood, used for scratching oneself when on salt expedition; length, 18.7 cm. i, bakpraxwar, the triangles symbolize clouds; the lines (red) descending between the triangles indicate lightning, and the dots are corn, length of longest, 50.5 cm. k, old Papago arrow, with obsidian point, from cave in Baboquivari range, total length, 1 metre. l, stick for bringing down saguaro fruit; total length, 4 metres.

12: Hill Y-5 (ca. 1940) 1942 NU28 Papago NU28

roughly. Taking a piece of the damp clay between the palms of her hands, the worker deftly rolls it into a coil just long enough to reach halfway around the top of the vessel. This is pinched into place with the wet hand. A similar coil completes the circuit. The anvil is now held in the left hand and supports the interior wall of the vessel, while the paddle rapidly strikes the exterior and smooths the coil into place. The upper edge is pinched off with the wet fingers until it is of an even height all the way around. After the addition of each completed coil, the piece is set aside to dry until it retains its shape.

When a sufficient number of coils has been added, the walls are sloped up with the handle of the paddle and the hands. The smoothing is done with a pebble dipped frequently in water. After the vessel has dried thoroughly in the sun, it is ready to be slipped. This slip is made by pouring off most of the water used for moistening the clay, dipping the hands, tools, etc., and applying to the vessel the fine wet sediment which remains in the bottom of the container.

A somewhat heavier slip is made from a very fine-grained red clay (or possibly shale, rather than clay) which apparently contains a high percentage of hematite. This material is obtained from the mountains near by, ground up, mixed with water, and applied with a piece of rag. In general, the thinner type is employed as a wash on ollas or on cooking pots which are subjected to heat, and the finer, thicker mixture on the others. After the application of the slip and a final polishing, the vessel is ready for firing.

A shallow pit is dug and exposed to the air and sun, usually for a day, to drive out all traces of moisture. Small branches and chips of mesquite are burned to form a layer of coals and ashes. On this are arranged pieces of tin to support the vessels. The latter are placed mouth downward upon the tin and covered with pieces of the same metal. Sticks of mesquite about a foot in length are stood up on end and rested against the tin, and the whole covered with chips and small branches. The firing process takes about 30 minutes, then the ashes are knocked off, the tin removed, and the vessels lifted out with two long sticks and set aside to cool. When they first emerge from the pit, they are a rich chocolate brown, but upon cooling, soon change to dull red. Probably prior to white contact, the pottery was fired in much the same manner as that practiced by the Pima. Possibly large fragments of broken ollas or jars took the place of the tin.

When the vessels have cooled sufficiently to permit handling, the black decoration is applied. The paint for this is made by boiling down mesquite gum and chips of the wood. When finished, it is a thin brown liquid which is applied by means of small sharp-pointed sticks. The decorated vessel is then held in the heat and slowly revolved until the paint turns black and sets. This completes the process.

The olla or water jar appears to be the most-used article among the present-day Papago. Many were observed beneath the ramadas of the houses, sometimes suspended from the cross-beams, sometimes placed in three-forked legs set upright in the ground. The majority of those now used are of a plain, unslipped earthenware in the natural color of the clay. Apparently a thin reddish wash is sometimes applied to the exterior. Several large storage ollas of a grayish or brownish buff, decorated in a brownish red and very suggestive of ancient Hohokam ware, were observed. Smaller black cooking pots with convex bottoms are still to be found. This black color is due to a deposition of soot from the fire, rather than to the natural color of the clay. Bowls and cups are likewise used at times. The writer was also shown several human figures, chiefly male, which had been made in neighboring villages.

13:Davis E-5 (1920)1920 NU28 Papago NU28

312 tion in the houses, camp near the pool.
796 The writer was fortunate in having the
[24] opportunity of visiting Quitovaquita during a fiesta, as the guest of Joseph Menager, who has a ranch near the border, and who speaks fluently both the Spanish and Papago languages.

796 We reached the village at 8 o'clock in the morning, and stopped at the house of the chief, whose Spanish name is Manuel Ortega. We went a half mile into the desert to the grounds where the ceremony was to be held, and met a number of the men who were to participate. Hanging on a small shelter were the ceremonial trappings that later were to be used during the
796 fiesta. They consisted of deerskin masks
293 that fitted over the head, the fronts of which
[532] were pierced by two holes for the eyes, and from the lower edges hung long fringes. Sashes of bright-colored fabric, necklaces composed mostly of blue-glass beads interspersed with short lengths of shell beads, bunches of eagle-feathers, robes, anklets girdled with cocoons filled with fine sand, and girdles of deerskin, suspended from

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

ons which was to march out with the dancers, and one which was to remain inside. Singing began, the same song as that sung during the night, and one chorus, of about fifteen singers, in elaborate costume, emerged from the enclosure and, preceded by the herd of dancers, marched to the dance floor. This chorus sang independently of the chorus inside. 796

Meanwhile, from somewhere came two score or more of men, all in army overcoats, who lined up against the west side of the enclosure outside, some standing, some sitting, as though they were privileged persons occupying reserved seats.

The chorus carried, the first time, the triangular forms of cotton, representing, we were told, clouds, the brown zigzag lines signifying lightning. The costumes of the chorus were, in the main, as follows. Each man or boy, most were in their teens, was stripped to the waist, with bare legs and feet. They wore skirts brilliantly colored, both of cotton and of rayon, reaching to the knees. Many of these skirts had had panels in contrasting colors sewn to them, and one in particular had a vertical red panel on the left side of a blue skirt, with the four playing card symbols appliqued on it in blue. Several had Christmas tree decorations, tinsel, glass balls, etc., sewn to their skirts. Each chorister had, stuck in his belt behind, a pair of bull roarer sticks, nearly all of which were red, with white decoration. They all were anklets of black material with cocoons sewn to them. 796 292 [921] [531]

From the waist up the choristers were painted red, spotted all over with inch wide circular daubs of white clay. About their necks all wore bright silk rodeo neckerchiefs. One boy wore a mirror strapped across his chest with bright ribbons. Several boys wore strands of Christmas tinsel, like crossed bandoliers, over their shoulders. All wore the gourd masks, with the exception of the two little boys who wore the sacklike masks described above. These boys also wore skirts. [302]

At the head of the chorus, which marched in single file except when several had to help carry floats, the two little boys trotting alongside near the head of the column, was a leader. This leader, a middle-aged man, was clad in a plain white tunic, belted at the waist and reaching to the knees. His legs were painted white, and he wore sandals; his arms were bare and painted white, his hands were black. About his head he wore a white band in which on the left side was stuck a long tail feather of hawk or eagle. The upper half of his face was painted black, and the lower half smeared with white.

This leader carried in the crook of his left arm a deep tray basket of Pima manufacture, about 18" in diameter, painted white and black inside and out in alternate eighths. In the basket was white meal, which held in place four sectors of short, dark turkey feathers, lying against the inside of the basket. 796 293 285

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

796 533 four seconds apart. Throughout the afternoon he pulled a stick across a notched and concave piece of wood supported between two of the baskets, in the same tempo. He held the far end of the notched stick firmly against the basket with his left hand, and pulled the other stick toward him with his right. The movements were evenly spaced, but abrupt.

796 534 The two boys, arms stiff at sides, extended them slightly at one drum beat, and returned them to position at the next. The girls bent a little at the knees at one beat, and straightened at the next. The denim-clad attendant watched over these four like a hawk, correcting the angle at which the girls held the corn, or the boys their bows and arrows, tilting their heads up if they drooped, and wiping their faces [516] carefully with a cloth every few minutes. These four, at intervals of possibly half an hour, were helped to a kneeling position by the attendant, where they remained, heads bowed and eyes closed, for perhaps ten minutes. At the end of this time the attendant carefully helped them to their feet again.

796 The men in white walked up and down at intervals in front of these four, and spectators were seen to walk with them on several occasions. What they or the spectators did we could not find out. Many of the [181] people in the crowd watched these performers in the lean-to with great interest and respect, and the whole atmosphere of this part of the ritual was that of solemnity, in contrast to the clowning of the dancers.

796 293 532 During the morning, the chorus carried many different objects, including several elaborate floats. In addition to the objects carried by the chorus at Anegam, there were red staves about 6' long, with bundles of grass, resembling ears of corn, tied to them at intervals. Similar staves were carried at another time, with the addition of what seemed to be imitation corn tassels on the top of each one. Husked ears of corn were carried at least once. Each of these different objects was carried more than once during the day, notably the "cloud symbols" which were carried at more or less regular intervals.

The first float was a well stuffed deer standing on a stretcher-like framework of poles. The dancers prepared for his appearance with a great hullabaloo and much pantomiming, some crouching and aiming their guns, others pretending to set up blinds of grass, others stalking the deer and hunting for tracks. When the deer appeared, and during the marching, the dancers aimed at it with guns and bows or touched it with lances. The men with guns pretended to place the charges or to clean the barrels with their ram rods. The crowd applauded all this with much excited talk and many jests, answered several times by dancers who ran at the crowd and scattered the onlookers with fierce charging and war-like gestures. The chorus carried tiny bows and arrows painted red, held at the draw, each chorister aiming his arrow upwards to the left.

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

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Later, after the chorus had marched several times with small objects, another float appeared, this one long, with four deer in single file upon it, with short arrowweed tied to it in bunches to simulate brush. These deer were made of dried deer skins and heads stretched over frameworks of sticks.

Another float, some time later, bore a deer and two fawns, in single file, partially concealed by clumps of arrowweed. Beneath the deer on the float was a small hemisphere of black cloth, about 12" high, and on top of this perched a bird cut out of thin wood and painted black. It had a humped back and large hooked beak.

The last float of this kind bore one deer, a shaggy old brute with tremendous grizzled head, the hide stretched crudely over sticks, as was done in the case of the two preceding deer floats.

The dancers went through the same performance with each one of these floats, and the chorus carried bows and arrows with each. Beside the deer floats, there were several others. One, requiring six choristers to carry it, was a long stretcher on which was a model of Baboquivari[1] some four feet long and two feet high, with the peak standing a foot above the sharp ridge. This was of cloth stretched over a frame, painted an uneven green color. Behind the mountain, one on each side, were two pyramids of white cloth, about a foot high. In front of the mountain, and on the same float, was a large black hemisphere, some two feet in diameter, on which perched a bird, possibly a foot high, cut out of a flat piece of wood. This bird also was humpbacked and had a large hooked beak. The wing, beak and legs were black, the rest of the body and the head were white. The chorus carried triangles in this procession.

One float, coming later, was a representation of Santa Rosa mountain about three feet long and twenty inches high, sharp ridged. This was painted a dirty grey color and on it were sahuaros about ten inches high, painted blue. Just below the peak, on the side of the mountain was a human figure in black, cut out of flat wood, square-shouldered and square-headed, about six inches high. Its arms were straight and held out from the sides, and its legs were bent out at the knees, feet apart.

Another float consisted of a roughly hemispherical frame, covered with brown cloth, about 3' long and 2' wide, on top of which stood what seemed to be a clump of grass about 6" high. A similar float, but smaller, a foot and a half in diameter, was carried later by one man of the chorus, and this had what seemed to be two green corn leaves sprouting from the top of it. What the choristers carried with these floats we did not notice.

1 [A near-by mountain.—Analyst]

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

796 293 532

In the afternoon a white cloth covered framework similar to that carried at Anegam was brought out. This was about ten feet high and four feet wide, with a bilobate top, each lobe the same size, one of which had a smaller lobe at its edge just below the top. The high wind which came up before noon made this an extremely difficult thing to carry, and the dancers, propping it up with sahuaro sticks, were hard put to it to keep it from blowing away. In this period the dancers discarded their bows and arrows, took up the sahuaro fruit gathering poles and held the frame upright by hooking the short sticks at the end of the poles over the top of the frame. A similar framework was brought out a little later, probably the same one carried at Anegam.

After this a float bearing a blue mountain about 3' long and 18" high appeared. Triangles and semicircles of white paper pasted on light stick frames were fastened upright about and on the sides of the mountain. The choristers carried triangles behind this float.

The last float observed was a hemisphere on a stretcher, some four feet in diameter, solidly tied in with raw white cotton, and with brown zigzags leading from the top centre down the sides. This was almost demolished by the wind before the procession was completed. The choristers carried the wands with the cotton balls on the upper ends during this period.

796 [132]

About ten A.M. an east wind came up, blowing in gusts, and increasing in velocity as the day wore on. The dust blew in dense clouds, along the north and south sides of the enclosure, across the dance floor and directly into the lean-to. How the four young folks there breathed at all was beyond our understanding. The old man was continually wiping their faces, especially their eyes, with his cloth. In the afternoon the dust was so heavy and thick, swirling in stinging blasts, that we could not see the dancers eight feet away from us. A little girl sitting on the front bumper of a car nearby went to sleep and fell off on the ground without waking up. An hour later she was drifted deep in sand, and we were afraid she would suffocate.

About 11:30 A.M. the chorus entered the enclosure and remained inside, and we were conscious of a renewed interest and vitality in the crowd of patient and dusty spectators.

796 535 [293]

A dancer ran around to the dance floor and there, with a stick, described a circle on the ground, about 8' in diameter, leaving a narrow opening on the east side. He then returned to the group, waiting on the east side of the enclosure. Then several dancers ran to the dance floor, each carrying a gourd, painted white, with red lines trailing from the rims, each with a stopper of wadded cloth, and very carefully set them upright around the circle, just inside the line, scooping out a hollow in the ground to hold each gourd upright. These men entered the circle on hands and knees, head down, as though crawling

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

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535 through a low doorway. Other dancers, by twos and threes, did the same, while the dancers already on the floor postured and clowned and apparently made fun of the newcomers. When most or all of the dancers had brought in their gourds and set them up, the whole group ran around to the front of the enclosure and halted for a moment. Then the group again ran to the dance floor, one man carrying an effigy of a deer, made by stretching a small deer hide over a stick framework, with antlers tied to its [532] head.

This the bearer set on the gourd just south of the circle, and the dancers stalked and killed it with lances. This was accomplished with the most grotesque pantomiming, the dancers creeping up on the deer and spearing it. The crowd of spectators enjoyed this tremendously, cheering on the hunters and offering advice. Meanwhile the high gusty wind kept blowing the gourds over and rolling them on the ground, so that the dancers had to chase them and put them back in place. A little yellow puppy, very much excited by the uproar, dashed into the milling [522] dancers, barking and chasing them. The dancers turned on the pup and pretended to hunt it, finally chasing it off, brandishing their weapons and leaping into the air. This also was much enjoyed by the onlookers.

After the deer had been dispatched, it was skinned and divided, still in pantomime. Then the dancers gathered in a great circle, tangent to the east side of the circle inscribed on the ground, and sat down. The ensuing few moments were apparently spent swapping lies about their [522] hunting exploits, one holding his hands apart to describe the length of his catch. Another took a Bull Durham sack from his pocket and pretended to roll and light a cigarette. Others reached over and took up gourds, only to be stopped and apparently scolded by two men who sat in front of the entrance to the circle of gourds.

Soon, however, the men guarding the gourds turned and on hands and knees took them up and passed them out through the entrance. They were handed about the circle of seated dancers, who removed the stoppers and pretended to drink deep from the vessels.

Now occurred a drunken riot in pantomime, in which the dancers became drunker and drunker, and the action more and more ridiculous. One man imitated a drunk sick to his stomach, with appropriate motions, collapsing on the ground and rolling about, helped up by other drunks who then collapsed with him. Others performed various obscene gestures, [831] mimicking the discharge of natural functions, and evincing a rather considerable knowledge of various perversions.

One by one the drunken dancers staggered off the dance floor, breaking into a run when outside the ring of spectators, and going to the enclosure. Last out were three, apparently boon companions, who had a most difficult time helping each other off the floor, complicated by the puppy, which dashed about them, yapping and snapping

17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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237 half an inch at each end and laid in a slightly spiral direc-
411 tion on the shaft just behind the nock, and both bare ends of the quill were bound on with wet sinew. Either two or three feathers were used for war arrows.

411 Wooden-tipped arrows were made of wood of the creosote bush *(Covillea glutinosa)* or of the arrow bush *(Pluchea sericea)* and might be full length with the tip rubbed sharp on a stone and hardened in the fire; or they might have a shaft of reed or Spanish Bayonet *(Yucca elata)* for three quarters of their length. This made an exceedingly light arrow particularly desirable for birds.

411 Quivers are of comparatively recent invention. Some
415 were made from the skins of such animals as the mountain lion *(Felis oregonensis hippolestes)*, wildcat *(Lynx ruffus)* or coyote *(Canis lestes)* with the hair left on, the skin not being softened but sewed up while fresh and allowed to dry hard. The legs and tail were cut off (excepting the coyote whose tail was left for decoration) and the skin sewed up in rough bag shape. The head, from which the skull was removed, was left on and stuffed with grass so it would dry into the proper shape. The hollow head served as a hood over the arrows.

All these skins made small quivers and were used in hunting. For war, large quivers were made of antelope hide *(Antilocapra americana)*, and such hide was cut and sewed in the shape of a cylinder a foot in diameter. In some cases a fringe of dressed buckskin appeared down the vertical seam.

Particular individuals had their quivers made of dressed and softened hide, generally from the white-tailed
● [533] deer *(Odocoileus couesi)* or antelope. These might have a fringe down the seam and a painted design of some brave animal on the back, the design being outlined with the secre-
[384] tion from the white brittlebush *(Encelia farinosa)*, then smeared over with red clay. Sometimes a yellow paint made from Spanish Bayonet flowers *(Yucca elata)*, ground to powder, was used. The quiver was slung by a strap two

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CEREMONIAL OBJECTS AND PRACTICES

The Papagos make a number of rather crude ceremonial objects which ritual demands must be thrown away after each ceremony. Masks are made of half a gourd *(Lagenaria vulgaris)* tied with buckskin thongs and covering only the eyes and nose of the wearer. The face is crudely painted on it with clay, and small perforations made for seeing and breathing. A more valuable mask, kept from year to year, is that belonging to the hereditary clown. It is made of white buckskin, bag shaped, the closed end of which comes at the top of the wearer's head and the open fringed end to his shoulders. A small face is painted on it with blue soot from creosote bush wood *(Covillea glutinosa)*.

The body is often ceremonially marked with clay colored yellow with a decoction of dandelion flowers *(Taraxacum officinale)*.

Fetishes were made on various occasions: for the *vikita* or harvest festival, for the *tc'irkona*, or visiting dance, when a visiting village entertained its hosts before racing with them; and for a ceremony to insure the growth of wild crops. These effigies were usually made to illustrate the content of a dream. For the *vikita* there were hereditary dream singers who every four years produced a new series of songs and ordered the making of some object to illustrate them. There was a standard range of subjects, including clouds, deer, corn, squash, mountains, and sea birds, though an inventive author sometimes provided a new subject like a mythical monster.

Very little material was available for these structures but they showed considerable extempore invention. A framework was made of ocotillo rods *(Fouquieria splendens)* tied together with thongs, and on this could be draped white buckskins to represent clouds, or reddish dyed ones for mountains. The facsimiles were mounted on a wicker frame of sahuaro ribs *(Carnegia gigantea)*. Large white birds were made on a skeleton of ocotillo ribs covered with raw cotton. Squash effigies were contrived from ocotillo

349 and dyed buckskin, corn of ocotillo rods painted with dots,
532 and with soapweed leaves *(Yucca glauca)* attached to represent corn leaves. The same range of subjects was used to illustrate the visiting dance.

The effigies used for the wild crops represented saguaro and prickly pear fruit *(Opuntia* sp.) and might be of red clay or of red ocotillo blossoms. An effigy mesquite bean was made of a twig (19).

293 Prayer sticks were made of catclaw *(Acacia greggii)*
778 upon which was tied eagle down *(Aquila chrysaetos)*, except for a special harvest ceremony at Quitovac in Sonora where it was "given" the people by Elder Brother to use turkey feathers *(Meleagris gallopavo merriami)*. Some prayer
[384] sticks were colored blue with soot from a fire of creosote bush *(Covillea glutinosa)*, the colored stick representing growing corn, the turkey feather the leaves (19).

Dancers at the harvest ceremony carried wands five feet long with bunches of eagle tail feathers at each end and in the middle. Individuals who had had curing dreams
[532] sometimes made fetishes to represent the animals which had taught them. Thus the horned toad *(Phrynosoma coronatum)* was often carved out of wood.

532 An enemy slayer had made for him an effigy of an Apache, using the hairs he had taken from the slain man's temples. The slayer's guardian if skillful contrived a doll of buckskin dressed in Apache costume and wearing the hair.

782 Tobacco smoke *(Nicotiana trigonophylla* and *N. taba-*
276 *cum)* was regarded by the Papagos as a purifying agent. The medicine man, while singing over a patient to "see" the cause of disease, paused regularly to smoke and blew the smoke over the patient as a means of cleansing.

The man who had come into contact with the supernatural by killing an enemy or an eagle, or by joining the salt pilgrimage, had to be purified by a period of segregation and fasting. When this period was ended, older men who had been through the same experience, sang a series of